

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MIRV VERIFICATION APPROACH (SALT TWO-801)

1. IN EVENT SOVIETS ACCEPT PARA II.8 (COUNTS TYPE OF MISSILE AS MIRVED IF BOOSTER EVER TESTED WITH MIRV), DELEGATION HAS BEEN CONSIDERING WHAT ADDITIONAL PROVISIONS MAY BE NEEDED TO ENSURE ADEQUATE MIRV VERIFICATION.

2. AGREEMENT UPON PARA II.8 WOULD RESOLVE ANY AMBIGUITY ASSOCIATED WITH A SINGEL TYPE OF BOOSTER WHICH HAS BEEN TESTED BOTH WITH AND WITHOUT A MIRV PAYLOAD (E.G., SS-18). IN ADDITION, CURRENT US DRAFT LANGUAGE FOR PARA II.2, II.4, AND V.1 (WITHOUT PROTOCOL PARA 1) CAN BE CONSTRUED TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF LAUNCHERS WHICH, SO FAR AS US CAN DETERMINE BY NTM, COULD BE USED TO LAUNCH TWO DIFFERENT TYPES OF MISSILES, ONE TESTED WITH MIRV'S AND ONE NEVER TESTED WITH MIRV'S.

3. EFFECT OF US LANGUAGE CITED ABOVE IS TO INCLUDE WITHIN THE 1320 AGGREGATE ALL LAUNCHERS "FOR/ MIRVED ICBM'S AND SLBM'S, WHERE A LAUNCHER IS "ANY DEVICE OR EQUIPMENT WHICH CAN BE USED FOR LAUNCHING" AN ICBM OR SLBM. TO EXTENT US CAN DETERMINE BY NTM,

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ALL SS-17, SS-18, AND SS-19 TYPE LAUNCHERS ARE CAPABLE OF

LAUNCHING, AND HENCE ARE "FOR" MIRVED MISSILES. ACCORDINGLY, THEY WOULD BE INCLUDED WITHIN THE 1320 AGGREGATE UNDER PRESENT US DRAFT LANGUAGE. SIMILARLY, ONCE THE SOVIETS TEST A MIRVED SLBM, ALL SLBM LAUNCHERS OF A TYPE ON WHICH THAT MIRVED SLBM CAN BE DEPLOYED WOULD UNDER PRESENT US DRAFT LANGUAGE IMMEDIATELY BE INCLUDED WITHIN THE 1320 AGGREGATE.

4. ON THE OTHER HAND, UNDER SOVIET DRAFT LANGUAGE FOR ARTICLE V (LAUNCHERS "WITH" MIRVED MISSILES), THE LAUNCHERS MUST ACTUALLY CONTAIN MIRVED MISSILES BEFORE THEY ARE INCLUDED WITHIN THE 1320 AGGREGATE LIMITATION.

5. WITH RESPECT TO THE EFFECT OF US DRAFT LANGUAGE ON MM II AND POLARIS LAUNCHERS, DELEGATION BELIEVES US CAN TAKE THE POSITION THAT THESE LAUNCHERS ARE NOT "FOR/ MIRVED MISSILES, IN THAT THEY ARE NOT CAPABLE, WITHOUT MODIFICATION (ADMITTEDLY MINOR), OF LAUNCHING MIRVED MISSILES. SOVIETS HAVE STATED INFORMALLY THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE ANY PROBLEM DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN MM II AND MM III LAUNCHERS OR BETWEEN POLARIS AND POSEIDON BOATS.

6. IN VIEW OF ABOVE CONSIDERATION, DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO OBTAIN SUBSTANCE OF OUR FORMULATION IN JDT NOTED ABOVE PARTICULARLY IN PARA V.1. THAT LANGUAGE IS PIVOTAL IN MAINTAINING THE POSITION THAT LAUNCHER CAPABILITY RATHER THAN CONTENTS SHALL DETERMINE WHICH LAUNCHER ARE INCLUDED IN 1320 AGGREGATE.

7. DELEGATION NOTES, HOWEVER, THAT US DRAFT LANGUAGE REFERRED TO ABOVE COULD ALLOW SOVIETS TO MAKE THE ARGUMENT THAT SOVIET LAUNCHERS WHICH WE CONSIDER CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING MIRVED MISSILES ARE NOT IN FACT SO CAPABLE WITHOUT MODIFICATION. WE MIGHT CONCLUDE THAT SUCH MODIFICATIONS ARE NOT DETECTABLE BY NTM. OUR RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET ARGUMENT COULD BE TO STATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER ANY EVIDENCE SOVIETS DESIRE TO PRESENT IN SUPPORT OF THEIR CONTENTION.

8. IN ORDER TO START THE NEW AGREEMENT WITHOUT ANY MISUNDERSTANDING REGARDING THE STATUS OF EACH SIDE'S EXISTING SYSTEMS, DELEGATION RECOMMENDS THAT AGREEMENT IN SUBSTANCE BE OBTAINED
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THAT ALL SS-17, SS-18, SS-19, MM III, AND POSEIDON TYPE LAUNCHERS WOULD BE INCLUDED WITHIN THE 1320 LIMITATION, AND THAT NO SS-9, SS-11, SS-13, SS-7, SS-8, MM II, POLARIS, OR TITAN TYPE LAUNCHERS WOULD BE SO INCLUDED. SS-13 TYPE LAUNCHERS MAY HAVE TO BE PUT INTO MIRVED CATEGORY, IF SS-16 MISSILES ARE TESTED WITH MIRV'S.

9. FOREGOING WOULD SOLVE PROBLEM OF LAUNCHER

CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING EXISTING TYPES OF MIRVED AND NONMIRVED MISSILES, BUT WOULD NOT DEAL WITH CONTINGENCY THAT IN FUTURE EXISTING TYPES OF SLBM LAUNCHERS MIGHT WITHOUT CHANGE THAT CAN BE DETERMINED BY NTM BE ABLE TO ACCOMMODATE FUTURE TYPES OF MIRVED SLBM'S. DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT US SHOULD AGAIN PROPOSE THAT, IF THE SOVIET TEST AN SLBM WITH MIRV'S, ALL SLBM LAUNCHERS OF THE SAME TYPE AS THAT ON WHICH SUCH SLBM HAS BEEN TESTED WOULD BE INCLUDED WITHIN THE 1320 AGGREGATE. IN SO DOING WE CAN REPEAT THAT THE US REMAINS WILLING TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS BY SOVIET, BUT THAT US SEES NO ALTERNATIVE TO FOREGOING APPROACH IN VIEW OF LACK OF INFORMATION ON TYPES OF LAUNCHERS TO BE USED FOR MIRVED SLBM'S.

10. IT WILL ALSO BE DESIRABLE TO INCORPORATE INTO BODY OF AGREEMENT, PROBABLY IN ARTICLE VI, SOME OF SUBSTANCE OF PARA 2 OF PROTOCOL, WHICH DEALS WITH TIME AT WHICH LAUNCHERS CONVERTED FOR MIRVED MISSILES WOULD BE INCLUDED WITHIN 1320 AGGREGATE. DELEGATION IS PREPARING LANGUAGE TO THIS END CONSISTENT WITH REST OF US DRAFT TEXT.

11. PROTOCOL PARA 3 APPEARS UNNECESSARY IN VIEW OF PARA VI.3.
JOHNSON

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